

## Message Text

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51-54

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

BIB-01 CU-02 /090 W

----- 112728

R 261455Z MAR 75

FM US MISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1682

INFO SECDEF

USMISSION NATO

US DEL MBFR 033

US DEL SALT TWO GENEVA 048

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2127

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: MILITARY SECURITY: CSCE-ARMS CONTROL  
RELATIONSHIP

REF: KA) GENEVA 1436

(B) STATE 51299

(C) GENEVA 1601

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS REPORT OF STATUS OF DRAFTING OF  
UNREGISTERED PARAGRAPHS IN CHAPTER ON CSCE-ARMS CONTROL  
RELATIONSHIPS (HELSINKI PARAS 22 AND 24), AS OF THE TIME  
SUBCOMMITTEE REVERTED TO OTHER SUBJECTS ON MARCH 14. THIS  
MESSAGE INCLUDING KEY TEXT IN CSCE/MBFR RELATIONSHIP (PARA 2C  
BELOW) INDICATES POSITIONS WE PROPOSE TO TAKE ON REMAINING  
ISSUES:

ACTION REQUESTED. ANY SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE, IF NECESSARY.

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END SUMMARY.

2. SUBSEQUENT TO REF A AND TO MENTAL REGISTRATION OF TEXT

FOR INTRODUCTION AND PARA 1 OF TEXT FOR HELSINKI PARAS 22 AND 24, MILITARY SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE SPENT AN ADDITIONAL WEEK ON TEXT IN HOPES THAT MENTAL REGISTRATION MIGHT ALSO BE ACHIEVED FOR ONE OR MORE OF SUCCEEDING PARAGRAPHS. ALTHOUGH THIS EFFORT DID NOT SUCCEED, SOME PROGRESS WAS REGISTERED, AND AGREEMENT SEEMS RELATIVELY CLOSE ON AT LEAST A TEXT FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT FINAL PARAGRAPH. FOLLOWING IS A PARA-BY-PARA STATUS REPORT, TOGETHER WITH PROPOSED POSITIONS ON REMAINING ISSUES AS THEY NOW STAND:

A. PARA 2: NEUTRALS ARE NOW PREPARED TO ACCEDE TO SOVIET PREFERENCE FOR ORDER OF THOUGHTS IN FIRST PART OF THIS PARA, IN EXCHANGE FOR THE ADJECTIVE "MUTUAL", SO THAT FIRST PART WOULD READ "THE MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SECURITY OF EUROPE AND THE SECURITY OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE,". HOWEVER, SOME ALLIES, IN PARTICULAR UK AND FRANCE, ARE HOLDING OUT STRONGLY FOR VERSION OF THIS PARA GIVEN IN PARA 2 OF REF A, FEARING THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ATTEMPT TO MAKE IDEOLOGICAL CAPITAL OUT OF THE SENTENCE. THE NEUTRALS CAN ACCEPT IT (AS EVIDENCE THAT ALL EUROPEANS BELIEVE IN A PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM). THERE ARE NO ISSUES IN SECOND HALF OF PARA. OUR VIEW IS THAT ORDER OF THOUGHTS IN THIS PARA IS NOT SIGNIFICANT ENOUGH TO YIELD ANY MAJOR DOCTRINAL ADVANTAGE TO THE SOVIETS, AND WE WOULD PROPOSE TO CONTINUE TO STAY OUT OF THE DISPUTE.

B. PARA 3: IN VIEW OF SOVIET DIFFICULTY WITH FORMULATION ON PARA 2 OF REFTEL A, SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO WORK WITH ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION ADVANCED BY SOVIETS (PARA 3E OF REFTEL A). NEAR CONSENSUS AT ONE POINT APPEARED AT HAND ON SOVIET FORMULA WITH "UNDIMINISHED" INSERTED BEFORE SECURITY. HOWEVER, YUGOSLAV REP REJECTED THIS APPROACH AND PROPOSED INSTEAD "RESPECT FOR THE SECURITY (INTERESTS) AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF ALL STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CSCE, "WHICH WAS ALSO ACCEPTABLE TO MANY MEMBERS, BUT NOT SO FOR THE SOVIETS. IN POST-MORTEM

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ON MARCH 20 OF HELSINKI PARAS 22 AND 24 SESSIONS, SOVIET REPS GAVE US FOLLOWING AS THEIR ORDER OF PREFERENCE FOR ALTERNATIVES FOR THIS PARA:

- (1) ORIGINAL SOVIET VERSION, AS PROPOSED ON FEBRUARY 27.
- (2) YUGOSLAV TEXT WITHOUT THE WORDS "AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY." TO HELP BRING YUGOSLAVS TO ACCEPT THIS SOLUTION, SOVIETS SAID THEY COULD PERHAPS ACCEPT A REFERENCE TO ALL OF THE TEN CSCE PRINCIPLES IN CBM PREAMBLE, BUT NOT TO ANY

SPECIFIC ONE.

(3) SOVIET FEB. 27 TEXT WITH ADDITION OF WORD "UNDIMINISHED." SOVIETS SAID THEY WERE UNCERTAIN WHETHER THIS ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO MOSCOW, AND OBSERVED THAT "UNDIMINISHED" HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY TRANSLATED LOOSELY INTO RUSSIAN IN VIENNA COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 28, 1973, WHICH MIGHT CAUSE PROBLEMS IF WORD WERE USED AT CSCE. U.S. REP EXPRESSED SIMILAR UNCERTAINTY ABOUT U.S. VIEWS ON USING "UNDIMINISHED SECURITY" IN A CSCE DOCUMENT. FOR NEXT ROUND, WE WOULD PROPOSE TO MAINTAIN LOW PROFILE ON THIS PARA BUT NOT TO TAKE ISSUE WITH SOVIET ORDER OF PREFERENCE, AND TO REQUEST ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS IF "UNDIMINISHED SECURITY" APPEARS TO BE ONLY BASIS ON WHICH CONSENSUS CAN BE ACHIEVED.

C. PARA 4: DURING CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS OF U.S. GUIDANCE IN REFTEL B, SEVERAL REPS GAVE VIEW THAT U.S. FORMULATION (DERIVED FROM A SOVIET SUGGESTION) WAS TOO OPEN-ENDED AND VAGUE, AND PROPOSED INSTEAD TO ACHIEVE DE FACTO LIMITATION OF FEEDBACK TO BILATERAL CHANNELS BY USING PHRASE "TO PARTICIPANTS IN (ARMS CONTROL) EFFORTS." U.S. REP AGREED TO SUPPORT THIS APPROACH, IF NEUTRALS COULD BE PERSUADED TO ACCEPT IT. NEUTRALS APPEAR FAVORABLY INCLINED, AND MOST REPS ARE NOW WILLING TO ACCEPT A FORMULATION ALONG LINES OF THE FOLLOWING UK OFFERING. "THE NEED FOR INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED BY THE PARTICIPANTS IN SUCH EFFORTS TO STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CSCE ABOUT RELEVANT DEVELOPMENTS, PROGRESS, AND RESULTS, AND THE INTEREST OF ANY OF THOSE STATES IN MAKING ITS VIEWS KNOWN TO THOSE PARTICIPANTS." ONLY YUGOSLAVS ARE NOW INSISTING ON "NEGOTIATING FORA" INSTEAD OF "PARTICIPANTS IN SUCH EFFORTS," AND THIS AMENDMENT IS CLEARLY FOREDOOMED. HOWEVER, SOME NEUTRALS WOULD LIKE CONFIDENTIAL

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TO AMEND BEGINNING OF SENTENCE TO READ MERELY "PROVISION OF INFORMATION." SOVIETS CANNOT ACCEPT THIS, NOR CAN THEY ACCEPT BEGINNING THE SENTENCE WITH "THE NEED FOR," SINCE, THEY MAINTAIN, THE NEED IS NOT UNIVERSAL, BUT INSTEAD ONLY REPRESENTS THE VIEW OF NON-PARTICIPANTS IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. SOVIETS WOULD PREFER TO BEGIN FINAL PARA WITH "THE INTEREST OF" AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO FALL BACK TO A FORMULATION BEGINNING WITH "THE IMPORTANCE OF." U.S. REP AGREED IN MARCH 20 CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS TO CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM ON TEXT FOR THIS PARA, AND WOULD PROPOSE TO ACCEPT A MODIFICATION OF THE UK FORMULATION, BEGINNING WITH "THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING INFORMATION PROVIDED...." IF A CONSENSUS COULD BE REACHED IN THIS FASHION.

3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE THAT  
DEPARTMENT CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE OR NECESSARY FOR NEXT  
ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS ON THIS TOPIC, WHICH IS AS YET  
UNSCHEDULED BUT IS UNLIKELY TO BEGIN BEFORE MID-APRIL.  
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